1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the
264 pattern of eating three times a day at fixed intervals, nor do
512 they have names for their meals. When one informant was purposely pressed into designating the meals by names, he gave the following terms: breakfast, *liwen korũ* ("early morning soup"); lunch, *raniañtu korũ* ("noonday soup"); and supper, *pun·korũ* ("night soup").[18]

262 There is not a great deal of variety to the customary diet.
241 Soup or gruel is the main dish, eaten with bread whenever there
252 is any. Breakfast is taken between sunrise and eight in the morning. It usually consists of coarsely ground, unparched wheat, mixed with water, and flavored with salt and greens such as *yuyo*,[19] young leeks or scallions, chili peppers, and coriander. This standard soup, to which lard may be added when available, is called *tikin korũ*. Sometimes, *chaikan* or *ullpud* is eaten instead, and on occasion a change is provided in the form of an oatmeal or bran soup, *chikal korũ*, enriched and flavored in the usual way.[20]

If a man departs very early for work, he may do without his breakfast or arrange to have soup and bread sent out to him.

The midday meal is ordinarily eaten in the *ruka* between noon and three. Most often it consists of bread and a sort of succotash, *pisku*, made by cooking together beans, peas, corn, potatoes, and greens.[21] Occasionally, yerba maté is drunk at this time.

Supper is eaten well after sundown, and is much like breakfast except that those who have it drink yerba maté at night.

[18] Moesbach (1930, p. 191) reported that formerly only two meals were eaten daily. The only term for a particular meal listed by Augusta (1916, I: 65) is *iagel*, for which he gave *comida* as a translation. *Comida* may mean any meal, but more commonly it is used for supper or dinner in the evening. Latcham (1909, p. 342) said that there are no special names for their meals.

[19] *Yuyo* refers to vegetables of the mustard-turnip group (*Brassica*). Additional details regarding Araucanian food usages may be found in Molina (1808, II: 105 ff.) and in Latcham (1909, pp. 340–43).

[20] Cornmeal was sometimes put in for thickening. When available, macaroni or spaghetti is now added.

[21] I was told by Mrs. Donaldson that both Indian and Chilean women usually throw away "the first water," i.e., the vitamin-rich water in which the vegetables are cooked.

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534 [202] though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the traditional tunes of the *llollkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·truñs*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·truñ* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·truñ* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·truñ* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·truñ* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *rañiñmapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *rañiñmapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *rañiñmapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[35] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

462 ● 512 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[35] *Pifullkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·truñs* are described in Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 72–77. The *llollkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

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weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups.

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apathetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually forsake the reservations in order to seek work in cities.

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177 241 One cannot study the economics and material culture of the contemporary Araucanians without coming to a sharp realization of the difficulties that beset a society whose culture is in the process of undergoing a major transition. In the case of the Mapuche the change has had a much greater and more depressing effect on the men than it has had on the women. After all, the customary housekeeping and child-rearing duties of women have undergone relatively little modification and, to a large extent, the shift from war to peace has considerably lightened their agricultural labors.

This is not true for the men. Adjustment for them calls for adaptation to several drastic changes. Traditionally occupied with war and strenuous games and exercises, they must now accept the role of peaceful tillers of the soil. Inasmuch as their old culture pattern assigned no masculine prestige value to skill in agriculture, they are at best indifferent farmers. They raise what crops they can, but they take paths of least resistance instead of bending all their efforts toward the improvement of their lands, herds, and livestock. Time hangs heavy on their hands at many points of the calendar, and it is not hard to see why many of them seek to escape reality by getting drunk as often as possible.

●512 Oddly enough, most of the Mapuches are in the habit of going to bed late and awakening fairly early, even in the rainy winter season when there is little work to be done. Again and again one hears them say: "How long the nights are!" Sometimes they beguile themselves with songs, stories, or general conversation, but even when time drags they do not like to retire early in the evening.

177 [563] There is no way of predicting what cultural innovations or value systems the Araucanians may develop at a future date, but at the moment their material culture and its immediate consequences are depressingly low. Yet they are not sharply set apart from their neighbors, and except for the retention of the Mapuche language, they are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 264 415 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first. They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum coré*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *poñi coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *motó* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of *alga*.

The favourite meat is horse flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 512 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sundown. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 565 There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 157
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Formerly, according to a Panguipulli ma older than 70 years, chicha was made in a kettle-shaped vessel of leather (trakal, fig. 5). At the open end, the leather was fastened to a rim of avellano wood by means of vines. The vessel was propped up by three or four poles, with one end of each pole poked under the rim and the other end planted in the ground. 273 [415]

In the early days, mudai, a fermented drink made of various grains, was the family beverage. Old women chewed the grain, usually uncooked dried corn, spat it into an olla, poured water on this, and let it ferment. The fermented liquid was poured off and drunk. Today, mudai is drunk only at the nillatun, machitun, and konchatun. Women prepare both the mudai and the chicha.

Formerly two meals a day were eaten: one, a full meal, was taken as soon as it was prepared, which was usually in the late forenoon, 264

[415]

FIG. 5.—Trakal, a vessel of leather propped on sticks and used in chicha making. (Sketch made by Domingo Huenuan of Panguipulli.)

and another, a partial one, about bedtime, which was any time "between dusk and the time people usually get hungry."

Rising time for the family, today, as formerly, is the cock's crow. Often, therefore, everyone is up before sunrise. The woman, with the help of an older girl or even small children, sets about preparing a meal—"a meal like we always have had." One of the children will stir up the fire and keep it refueled, for a large fire has to be maintained so that there will be ashes for baking the tortillas. The mother, or an older girl, prepares the dough for the tortillas and then bakes them. "Other dishes, too, must be prepared. We usually have meat with tortillas and also either toasted wheat or catuto, and yerba maté. When we have no tortillas, we bake potatoes in ashes. That takes time, too." On the day of an interview, a Cofiripe woman had given her family as its main meal tortillas, soup thickened with wheat, roast lamb, catuto, and yerba maté. Men were encountered who had hoed potatoes or cut grain for several hours without having eaten anything. The women were preparing the meal, they would say. The evening meal usually consisted of left-overs from the main meal. 264 512

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 706), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 52, 53). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees